

AN
A C C O U N T
OF
WHAT HAS PASSED
BETWEEN
THE INDIA DIRECTORS
AND
ALEXANDER DALRYMPLE:

INTENDED AS
AN INTRODUCTION TO A PLAN
FOR
EXTENDING THE COMMERCE
OF
This KINGDOM, and of the COMPANY,
IN THE
E A S T - I N D I E S,
BY
An ESTABLISHMENT at BALAMBANGAN.

Nequid falsum audeo dicere, nequid verum non audeo.

CRCR

*Nothing false I dare report ;
Nothing true I fear to say.*

A. D.

L O N D O N :
Printed in the Year M D C C L X V I I I .

AN
ACCOUNT
OF
WHAT HAS PASSED
BETWEEN
THE INDIA DIRECTORS
AND
ALEXANDER DALRYMPLE
INTERD-AS
AN INTRODUCTION TO A PLAN
EXTENDING
OF
THE KINGDOM, and of the COMPANY
IN THE
EAST-INDIES
BY
AN ESTABLISHMENT AT CALCUTTA



Printed by J. G. & J. W. Smith, Stationers, in Pall Mall.
1784.

LONDON:
Printed in the Year 1784.

At the late General Court held the 21st
Instant, I delivered the following Hand Bill:

THE SERIOUS ATTENTION
O F
A GENERAL COURT
O F
INDIA PROPRIETORS,

This NARRATIVE is recommended,

B Y

An Old and Faithful Servant

O F
The EAST INDIA COMPANY,

Alexander Dalrymple:

N. B. At the last General Court held the 21st Instant, I delivered the following Hand-bill:

To the PROPRIETORS of India Stock.

GENTLEMEN,

“ Having some time since laid before the Court of
“ Directors a Plan for the Extension of their Trade,
“ and finding they have not paid that Attention to it
“ which I think the Subject requires, I cannot, in
“ Justice to the Publick and to myself, as I have spent
“ much Time in pursuit of this Object, which appears
“ to me of the utmost Importance, avoid desiring that
“ I may lay the same before You, or such a chosen
“ Number of Proprietors as you may think proper. I
“ shall attend this General Court, to answer any
“ Questions that may be required of me.”

I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

Wednesday,
21 Dec. 1768.

Alexander Dalrymple.

The Court did not take any Notice of this Application; several Persons indeed had given it as their Opinion, that the Matter never would be taken up whilst made only as a *General Application*, and that, the only Mode of introducing it, was by engaging some Proprietor to move it in Court.

I have ever disclaim'd, and do disclaim all Connexion with Party; and can have no right to ask any *Individual* to stand forth the *Champion of my Cause*: To be heard in *Person* seems to be a *natural Right* to which every Man is entitled: and a Motion for *this* might, with as much Propriety, be made by a *Friend* of the *present* Directors, as by one in *Opposition* to them. However as *this* Motion was not made, the only Step left for me to take is to publish this Narrative for the Information of the Court to be held on the 4th of January.



A N
A C C O U N T
O F

What has passed between the
INDIA DIRECTORS and
ALEX^R. DALRYMPLE.

*** W O objections have been
*** T u r g e d against a *publication*
*** of this kind: 1st, That
other nations may take advantage
of so publick an exposition of in-
tentions. 2^d, That it is an impu-
tation on the capacity and abilities
of those who have the administration
of the Company's affairs.

B M y s t e r y

Mystery is too often a veil for indolence, ignorance, or folly ; the rights of the Company stand on too good foundation, to be moved by any thing, but ill-judged delays, or timid conduct. “ *The Dutch will take the alarm,*” can only be said by those who talk inconsiderately, or who wish to screen their own misconduct under a popular pretence.

If it be shewn that it is *impossible* to keep the Dutch in ignorance ; it will scarce be requisite to enter into the discussion how far that measure may be *necessary* or *expedient*.

In April last *, the Deputy Chairman, in the first conversation I ever

* At this time he shewed me an abstract he had made of my *Plan*, which had been communicated to him some months before, though without my knowledge or consent.

had

had with him on the subject, asked me whether I wished to have the Court of Directors come to a resolution immediately, or to postpone it till September; observing, that the very post after they came to a resolution, it would be known in Holland.—I recommended an immediate decision, as a thousand things would be necessary which could not be thought of, till the Company came to a resolution; at the same time that I saw no advantage in endeavouring to make a mystery of the Company's intentions.

The resolution was indeed put off from time to time; but in July the Court of Directors determined to form the establishment; and therefore, if we pay any regard to the sentiments of the Deputy Chairman, the Dutch

B 2

must

must already be acquainted with the Company's views.

Perhaps the Machiavels of the present direction may think that although the Dutch were *alarmed* by the resolution of Court in July, their fears are now quieted by the *irresolution and inconsistencies* of the Directors from *that time to this*. However, as the matter has been so long *publicly* known in India, every attempt to make a mystery of the Company's views must appear equally ridiculous and fruitless. The *only* way of removing the apprehensions of the Dutch is by dropping the enterprize entirely, or undertaking it in such a manner as cannot be attended with success. — Either of these modes will merit, not from a General Court, or from this Kingdom, but from the Dutch, a very ample reward to the Directors.

It is alledged the Company's intention of removing their capital establishment on Sumatra, from Bencoolen to Kyfer's-bay in the strait of Sunda, was frustrated by the *secret* being divulged. A settlement in Kyfer's-bay was only *intended*. The Company do not appear to have had any claim or grants; if they *had*, how came their rights to be tamely given up to the Dutch? This *remove* was long *talked* of; it was therefore very natural for the Dutch to endeavour to *do* something to prevent it, since the English talked without doing any thing. To delay and inactivity therefore must be ascribed the failure of that intention: The circumstance of Balambangan is very different; I obtained a grant of it for the Company, and took possession *some* years ago: their right therefore is not to be su-

perfeded by any publick meafures the Dutch can take: any attempt to gain a footing there, would be as great an infringement of right, as if we were to fettle upon a part of Zeylan belonging to the Dutch.

An extension of the Company's trade does not require fecrecy: by the *leaff* attempt, the apprehenfions of the Dutch will be as *much*, and their hopes of frustrating it *more* raifed, than by an open expofition of the Company's views; thefe apprehenfions are not to be removed by any myfterious meafures, nor will the Dutch quietly truft that the undertaking *may* fall to the ground, if they can flatter themfelves with a profpect of overthrowing it: fuch expectations can *only* be prevented by *fpirit* and *expedition*, not by oſtrich-like concealments.

It

It is undoubtedly proper to examine into the claims and pretensions of other nations, previous to any new establishment, that we may be assured of our own *right*, before the publick honour is pledged, or any expence incurred.

Every claim of the Spaniards is refuted by the treaty of Munster: being cautious of referring to the Company's records without permission, I do not enter into the particular discussion of the governor of Manila's protest *.

As

* I applied to the Court of Directors for this protest in the following letter.

" Gentlemen,

" As a refutation of the Spanish pretensions in
 " the Governor of Manila's protest depends on
 " many historical and local circumstances, which
 " perhaps no man in England but myself can
 " know, I presume it might be useful to the
 " publick to have a refutation from me, as the

As there are no European treaties of limitation to restrain the English navigation or commerce in India, the only pretence of objection from the Dutch must be against our settling at places where they claim the immediate dominion, or at such as are subject to princes tributary to or

“ Company *may profit*, but are not *engaged* by any
 “ thing I can alledge.—I am therefore to request
 “ a copy of that protest, and promise very cau-
 “ tiously to adhere to *facts* in refuting it.—I have
 “ the honour to be,

“ Gentlemen,

“ Your most obedient,

“ Soho-Square,
 “ Nov. 25.
 “ 1768.

“ humble servant,

“ A. DALRYMPLE.”

A friend of mine offered to lay me a guinea to a crown, “ that the Court of Directors would not grant this request, or give any answer.” I did not think any set of men in publick station would be actuated merely by pique; but I have lost the wager.

in

in alliance with them. This last claim might admit of much dispute, but does not relate to the point in question, as the dominion of Dutch auxiliaries never comprehended the north end of Borneo; this is a part where the Dutch never had any establishment or connexion.

Any opposition therefore from the Dutch to an English establishment at Balambangan cannot be grounded on a pretended infringement of rights, or breach of treaties, but must entirely arise from their *apprehensions* that such an establishment would be prejudicial to their interest in India.

However jealous the Dutch may be of such an establishment, it is not to be supposed that they will commit any open act of violence; indeed our power in India is at present too formidable for them to make an
open

open attack, since they cannot now imagine themselves able to bribe or bully the Court to support them against the Company, as they did in the infamous transaction of Amboina, during the abject administration of the favourite Buckingham.

In the following narrative I shall endeavour to give a circumstantial detail of what has passed this year between the India Directors and me, in relation to the establishment at Balamangan.

The Company's intentions of making an establishment were communicated to me early in the year*: I was desired to put down on paper the general heads of such an expedition,

* On the 19th of April I received a letter from the secretary, informing me the Committee of Correspondence desired to see me on the 26th. I accordingly went, and was asked many questions.

and

and was taught to believe that I was intended to be entrusted with this charge. On the 8th of May I drew up some hints, which I communicated, on this subject; but as delays were made, no resolution was taken for above a month after. In the beginning of July I was called up from Scotland by an intimation, that it was resolved to carry the expedition into immediate effect; and I was informed that the Court of Directors had determined to purchase a ship, as the reasons I had given against employing a freight ship were thought sufficient objection.

It appeared to me however, that the Directors had not sufficiently considered the subject, but had precipitately determined to make a settlement, before they well knew what was intended by that settlement; and had not at all thought of the conditions which I might

might deem adequate for undertaking a work of so much danger and inquietude: I thought it was candid, before they had advanced too far, to have these preliminaries settled. I was not insensible, that the way to have carried my *point* was to have let them run on, till they could not have retreated but with disgrace; but I thought the labourer was worthy of his hire; and although it was a *point* I had much at heart, it was not a *job*; and I was in that temper of mind, that I would rather have returned to Madraſs, in the common line, than have gone to Balamangan in a mode not entirely agreeable to myself.

I conſider the duty of the publick and the individual to be reciprocal; and think that a reward is as much due from the former, as ſervices from the latter: I have ever had the intereſt of
the

the publick in view, but I have always expected, in the end, to receive a personal reward, adequate to the services I should perform.

After many procrastinations, a Committee was appointed for determining the business: Mr Gregory was desired to attend; he gave a very clear information of what infinite consequence to the Bengal investment such an establishment would be; and declared it as his opinion, that it would yield to the Company, in four or five years, an annual profit of at least 100,000 l. This Committee was held on the 3d of August.

I had that morning given a paper to some of the members of the Committee for their perusal; in it I recited what I understood were the Company's intentions, viz.

“ To

“ To send a ship with a proper
 “ force to remain at Balambangan for
 “ three years, by way of experiment,
 “ how far there may be a probability
 “ of effecting the purposes of the ex-
 “ pedition ; and that I should go out
 “ on a contract for *three* years, to re-
 “ turn at the expiration thereof, to ex-
 “ plain what is necessary for the ef-
 “ fectual prosecution of the undertak-
 “ ing, should they, from the first ex-
 “ periment, be induced to carry the
 “ plan into execution on a broad bot-
 “ tom *.”

It is necessary to recite particularly
 a great part of this paper, as although
 not a paper of record, it was of conver-
 sation, and has apparently influenced

* A thousand circumstances will occur, which
 cannot be explained but in person ; at the same
 time errors and deficiencies in the infancy of an
 establishment, entail distress and difficulties for
 ever.

the proceedings of the Court of Directors. In this paper I observed, that

“ I am far from considering the extension of the Company’s trade, to depend upon me; however, I will be bold to assert that *no* place is so convenient for the purpose of an emporium as *Balambangan*; and, I think myself obliged to declare I would not undertake the charge of a new settlement upon any terms, but such as appear to me satisfactory: indeed such a charge must be attended at best with infinite fatigues, and considerable hazard; no man therefore who knows *the duty*, will ever wish to undertake it under objections which threaten in the end to make the expedition prove abortive, or on any but *very ample* conditions;” as he must have some confidence of his own abilities and a full con-

consideration of the many difficulties to be struggled with. At the same time, conditions which I should deem *adequate* if I was embarking in a new enterprize, would not appear so at present, after nine years fatigue and inquietude, and after the cessions I have obtained.

“ As the discussion of this matter
 “ comprehends two points; the *equip-*
 “ *ment*, which is merely *publick*; and
 “ the *terms*, which relate to the indi-
 “ vidual; I shall separate these heads.”

It appears absolutely requisite for the person who has charge of the expedition to have command of the ship as *Captain*.

“ I have a commission of five years
 “ standing as Captain of a ship in the
 “ Company’s service: although I con-
 “ sider myself well enough qualified to
 “ navigate

“ navigate a ship in this voyage *, I
 “ am very far from pretending an e-
 “ qual ability in every branch; in-
 “ deed, the *common duties* of a *master*
 “ are inconsistent with the more im-
 “ portant charge entrusted to me; I
 “ would therefore be better pleased to
 “ have a master than a chief-mate ap-
 “ pointed under me.

“ Whether the Company allow me
 “ any privilege of trade or not, must
 “ depend entirely on them; it is a
 “ matter not connected with the prof-
 “ perity of the expedition, and there-
 “ fore, if granted, I shall receive it as
 “ a favour, if refused, I shall not think
 “ it an injury.

“ It appears absolutely necessary,
 “ that the Chief have the choice of

* Indeed great part of it lying through seas,
 where I am perhaps the *only* European in the least
 acquainted, I must, were I but a passenger, exe-
 cute the office of pilot.

" every person who goes on the ex-
 " pedition: it must be obvious, who-
 " ever goes on such a voyage must
 " look upon himself indebted for his
 " appointment to the Chief under
 " whom he serves; for if people think
 " they hold their offices by the favour
 " of persons in authority at home, it
 " overturns that system of dependence
 " and attachment, without which no
 " new undertaking of this kind ever
 " can succeed:" not to mention the
 chance of having some improper person
 recommended, which must be of very
 fatal consequence in matters where
every man has a duty indispensibly to
 be performed. A new settlement is
 like the human frame; an obstruction
 in the smallest vessel disorders the ma-
 chine. Besides, " as I do not mean
 " to make a job of the expedition, ei-
 " ther for myself or others; much ex-
 " planation

" planation is necessary to prevent
 " people from forming false expecta-
 " tions: I do not say this from a mo-
 " tive of having the appointment my-
 " self, I have no person in view at
 " present but Captain Fea, who com-
 " manded the Company's cutter at
 " St. Helena during the war; him I
 " think a very proper person for chief-
 " mate or master."

Captain Fea came home from St.
 Helena in the same ship with me; he
 had some claim to the Company's at-
 tention for past services, and appeared
 very proper for the station of chief-
 mate or master: him I therefore re-
 commended as such; and after I had
 done so, I received a letter from him,
 soliciting my influence in his behalf for
 that trust. I knew of no persons qua-
 lified for the other offices, and must

therefore have made it my business to inquire after those who were.

I also verbally mentioned Captain Ruffel, as a military officer, if the Company thought proper to send any from Europe. He had been recommended to the Company last year by General Lawrence: I knew him in India to be a good officer; he understood Spanish, which was a very important qualification; had been at Sooloo, was well acquainted with the Sultan, and very desirous, when at Manila, to have been employed on this service, if the Company had at that time made the settlement: and when it was reported I was going out, he had intimated his inclination to be engaged in such an expedition. The other military officers were proposed to be carried from Madrafs.

“ The

“ The *conditions* adequate to my
 “ *past* and *future* services are now to
 “ be considered.

“ The *terms* relative to the *present*
 “ and *future* employment must be very
 “ different, but I *would* not undertake
 “ the *present* charge without a view to
 “ the *future*; and although I do not
 “ *stipulate* to have the government of
 “ Balambangan hereafter, I *expect* it.

“ If the Company *cannot* acquiesce
 “ to the terms which I conceive ade-
 “ quate to my *past* and *future* endea-
 “ vours, I must acknowledge frankly
 “ that I think that they had better not
 “ employ me on this expedition. I
 “ will venture to say, whoever goes at
 “ the head of such a settlement, must
 “ pursue it through life, and fix on its
 “ success, not only his own honour,
 “ fame and fortune, but those of his
 “ posterity. Without this distant view,

“ no one will ever effectually succeed,
 “ whatever may be his personal abili-
 “ ties.

“ Every new undertaking, depend-
 “ ing on a multitude of contingencies,
 “ is liable to so many accidents that the
 “ most favourable general prospects are
 “ not in prudence, to a man past thirty,
 “ sufficient ground to build upon. In
 “ common occurrences the example of
 “ many, is both a rule of conduct and
 “ ground of expectation; but the ad-
 “ vantages accruing to an individual,
 “ who has charge of a new settlement,
 “ must be of a very different kind;
 “ every *act* of his becomes a *funda-*
 “ *mental abuse* or a *wise institution*:
 “ the *immediate* interest of the indi-
 “ vidual must here be diametrically
 “ opposite to that of the publick. For
 “ example;—if the Chief is to acquire
 “ his reward by trade, his object must

“ be to buy *cheap* and sell *dear*; but
 “ the object of the publick in the in-
 “ fancy of the establishment is to draw
 “ strangers from every quarter, by giv-
 “ ing high prices for their commodities,
 “ and selling at low rates the goods
 “ they want in return. I should be
 “ *sorry* to see a child of my own de-
 “ stroyed; but I think I *could not* raise
 “ my hand to *cut its throat*, as under-
 “ taking this expedition with a view
 “ to present gain *must* be.

“ I know my own temper to be
 “ such, that whatever I pursue must
 “ be with the *whole* mind; if I take
 “ up the *pursuit of money*, it is likely
 “ that desire will absorb every other
 “ idea.

“ If I am fixed at Balambangan
 “ to *my own satisfaction*, I mean to de-
 “ vote my *whole* life to promote the

“ success of that establishment; and
 “ shall look upon it as my *home*.

“ I have laid it down as a rule in
 “ life, both in matters of politicks and
 “ morality, to be directed by what
 “ appears to *myself* right. This rule
 “ will be my guide in future, as it has
 “ been in time past; and therefore
 “ should the Company’s opinion dif-
 “ fer essentially from mine in matters
 “ of consequence, I may be under the
 “ necessity of relinquishing a charge
 “ which I cannot execute to mutual
 “ satisfaction: should this be the case,
 “ I could no longer continue at Balam-
 “ bangan; and, although I hope this
 “ never will happen, the bare possibi-
 “ lity of it would overturn the plan
 “ of making it my *home*. At the same
 “ time, though I will never be the in-
 “ strument to perform what I *think*
 “ is wrong, I don’t presume to *judge*
 “ for

“ for others, and shall therefore con-
 “ sider myself always bound to promote
 “ the welfare of the establishment, and
 “ and to assist the Company in every
 “ manner possible.

“ The considerations in *future*, and
 “ for the present expedition, are very
 “ different; and as those relative to the
 “ particular circumstances above-men-
 “ tioned, have a reference *only* to the
 “ *future*, it is unnecessary at pre-
 “ sent to enter into a discussion of them:
 “ at the termination of three years, the
 “ Company will be better enabled to
 “ judge of the future consequences,
 “ and therefore of the future confide-
 “ rations.

“ Although I would rather wish
 “ to know what conditions the Com-
 “ pany propose, than offer any my-
 “ self, yet, as the mode most agree-
 “ able to me may not occur to them,
 “ I

" I shall beg leave to mention my
 " wishes and expectations, leaving the
 " discussion to the Company."

" 1. That my expences in the ex-
 " pedition, and my charges, out and
 " home, be borne by the Company.

" 2. That the Company give me
 " an annuity of 1. per annum,
 " transferable for another life.

" 3. That I be entitled to any
 " privileges in common with other
 " persons.

" 4. That I be permitted to en-
 " gage in the pearl fishery, notwith-
 " standing any general prohibition to
 " Europeans.

" 5. That I have a commission
 " of 1.* per cent. on the cargoes
 " bought and sold at Balambangan.

* This was filled up by a Director, with 5 per cent. and afterwards, by my proposal, altered to 4 per cent. and 1 per cent to the second.

" 6. I

“ 6. I shall expect, if I die in the
 “ Company’s service, that they will
 “ give a pension of 100 l. per annum
 “ to each of my children, if I should
 “ leave any without such a provision.

“ I will engage to receive no pre-
 “ sents in money, and to keep an
 “ account of all others: and in case
 “ there should be any of such value,
 “ or under such circumstances, that
 “ the Company do not approve, that
 “ they shall be pledged with them till
 “ all parties are satisfied.

“ Should the conditions proposed
 “ by the Company be inadequate to
 “ my expectations, I must solicit to
 “ be returned to the Madras estab-
 “ lishment; and shall leave to the ge-
 “ nerous consideration of the Com-
 “ pany, whether I deserve any, and
 “ what reward for my past labours.”

July 29, 1768.

After

After leaving the Committee, I received the following letter from one of the members. “ After all the attention that has been given to our scheme, and the warm zeal there is in the Court to carry it into execution, it would concern me to have it fail from motives of interest; the more so as I cannot but condemn the proposal; and assure you that after you left us, there appeared a general repugnance and disgust at the idea of an expectation so wide from their ideas, which always have been that you are to hazard something as well as the Company, and to look for your advantage in the prosperity of the settlement; and if it fails, Madras would be still open to you, and most probably with an indulgence in point of rank; but an independence for life runs counter to

“ this,

“ this, and leaves the impression of
 “ the possibility of that security, be-
 “ ing an inducement to relax from
 “ your endeavours for the publick ser-
 “ vices; in short, it hurts every way,
 “ and must not be thought of. At the
 “ same time I never saw people more
 “ disposed to the generous and indul-
 “ gent side, than they are; and there-
 “ fore wish you would leave it entire-
 “ ly to the Court, and resolve to em-
 “ bark in it. I wish it for your sake
 “ as well as ours, being convinced it
 “ is as fair a road to *fortune* as any
 “ you can take.”

The next time I saw him, I replied,
 that, “ To a person who had, perhaps,
 “ with too much neglect, hitherto
 “ never made his *pecuniary* interest
 “ an object of pursuit, the charge of
 “ acting from *motives* of *interest* a-
 “ gainst the *publick* *welfare*, sounded
 “ like

“ like 'an accusation : but although,
 “ if I had been born 2000 years ago,
 “ when a civic crown was the highest
 “ reward a good citizen could receive,
 “ I should have conformed myself to
 “ the spirit of the times, and been sa-
 “ tisfied with that kind of reward, I
 “ had lived long enough to see, that,
 “ in 1768, some care of a man's self
 “ was required.

“ That I had been fifteen years
 “ in the Company's service, and was
 “ now on the wrong side of thirty :
 “ that I had laid it down as a rule,
 “ that although a man under thirty
 “ might sport with his time, after that
 “ age he must become *prudent* of it :
 “ that if I had not been sent to the
 “ eastward in the beginning of 1759,
 “ the common emolument of my of-
 “ fice, as Secretary, would by this
 “ time exceed 4000 l. instead of nine
 “ years

“ years *barren* labour: and that I
 “ thought a consideration of these cir-
 “ cumstances cannot be called *motives*
 “ of *interest*, but of *prudence* and
 “ *equity*.

“ That I would very frankly de-
 “ clare, nothing could induce me to
 “ engage farther in that *line* but a cer-
 “ tainty of *independence*, or *strong pro-*
 “ *bability* of competency, in a short
 “ period.

“ That as I would not make the
 “ settlement an object for *life*, but on
 “ my own terms, it was not impro-
 “ bable the Company might not agree
 “ to the conditions, and therefore, af-
 “ ter the first *term*, dispense with my
 “ services.

“ That I had trusted to the Com-
 “ pany's generosity for *nine* years in
 “ *vain*; and that, though I meant
 “ to trust *much* to them in future, I
 “ had

“ had not faith enough to trust every
 “ thing; and that although I thought,
 “ in reason and prudence, an *inde-*
 “ *pendence* necessary, I did not desire
 “ my *fortune* to arise but from the prof-
 “ perity of the settlement.

“ That if they could think an in-
 “ dependence, by annuity of a few
 “ hundred pounds per annum, could
 “ *satisfy* me so much as to make me
 “ relax in my endeavours for the pub-
 “ lick service, I must be, in their opi-
 “ nion, totally unworthy of such a
 “ trust; and that they could not, with
 “ propriety to the Company, employ
 “ one of whose unfitness for the charge
 “ they were so much convinced.

“ That, in my opinion, there was
 “ no alternative; either a man's ob-
 “ ject must be to enjoy the comforts
 “ of private life, or to be signalized
 “ in the most distinguished publick
 “ station,

“ station, by performing the greatest
 “ publick service; which *few* have
 “ had the opportunity of doing, in
 “ an equal degree, and as few will
 “ have in their power hereafter.

“ That no other motive could at
 “ first have induced me to go to sea,
 “ and that no other motive can now
 “ induce me to the undertaking; but
 “ that, as I might be disappointed of
 “ my end, I was determined, if I un-
 “ dertook the very arduous task of
 “ forming a new settlement, I would,
 “ at least, secure *what*, in my present
 “ state of *dependence*, I thought *some*
 “ reward.

“ That as for my running some risk
 “ as well as the Company, I was en-
 “ tirely satisfied to do so: that at all
 “ events I shared the fate of the Com-
 “ pany; for who was to pay an an-
 “ nuity if they were bankrupts? But

D

“ that

“ that what he proposed was a bub-
 “ ble-bet: the Company could not by
 “ the experiment lose any thing which
 “ could materially affect them; but
 “ that I had already lost the *best nine*
 “ years of my life, and *might* every
 “ thing: that the stake was not high
 “ enough for a desperate cast; and that
 “ I would rather take up with ease and
 “ small advantages, at Madras, in in-
 “ dependence, as I may call an undif-
 “ tinguished station, such as mine must
 “ be for some years, with twenty per-
 “ sons above me, than harass my mind
 “ with fatigues and inquietudes, for
 “ which I might be doubtful of ever
 “ receiving a reward.

“ That although I should leave the
 “ mode to the Company, I must re-
 “ peat, that nothing except a certainty
 “ of independence, or prospect of com-
 “ petence,

“ petence, could carry me to the east-
 “ ward *.”

Besides the general objections to an annuity, I found the particular nature of what I wished was disapproved. When this was mentioned to me, I observed, that the only motive for asking an annuity, was, that I might have it in my power to make a provision for my wife, if I should be inclined to marry; that for my own part, an annuity was no object to me.

Marriage is a duty, which, I think, every man owes to society some time in his life; and therefore a duty to *himself*, in an early period of it; the desire of leaving posterity, and providing for them, is a natural inclination in the mind of every social being; I own

* As this was originally a letter intended, but not sent to the person, though shewn to him, I have confined myself to the words of that paper.

frankly that I wish to be on that footing of independency wherein a man can, with prudence, bring upon himself the cares of a family, and that there is no state of life, without a prospect of this, wherein any motives could induce me to engage; I will go farther, and acknowledge that there is a lady with whom I should be happy to go hand in hand through life, though no consideration could induce me, were it in my power, to involve her in any incertainties; nor, on the other hand, can either passions or affections draw me from my publick duty.

I was desired to attend the Committee on the Wednesday following; when after waiting some time, the Secretary came out and told me he was ordered to inform me from the Committee, " That they had come to no
 " resolution, and put off the confide-
 " ration

“ration of this business.” No further explanation was ever desired of me: this happened on the 11th of August.

The 24th I waited on the chairman, and told him I thought it but candid to communicate my intentions: that I was determined to leave no room either for myself or others to reproach me with having neglected any thing which might have promoted the carrying into execution a matter of so much importance to the publick.

He replied, “that it always was his opinion every body should do what they thought most for their interest; but that if people would not accept of the terms——

I interrupted him by observing that it could not be said that I had rejected terms, as none had ever been proposed to me.

He said " the Committee would meet soon and do something."

I replied, that delays were of the most fatal consequence, and in this instance, the same as determining to do nothing; that, if any thing was to be done, the lateness of the season required immediate dispatch.

He observed, that " he thought nothing could be done this season *."

I replied, that I did not think it yet too late, if dispatch was used.

He said " he could not always get gentlemen to meet, or, when they did, to do more business than they pleased; that for his own part,

* The advantages of an early dispatch are *lost* by past *delays*; it would be merely a matter of accusation to recite those advantages: however, it must be observed, that I know no *one* advantage which can attend *further* delays: but on the contrary, can foresee many dangers and difficulties in every day's procrastination.

he

he was always present, and ready to do his duty" — adding, that "he did not know any body reproached me."

I replied, I should reproach myself greatly, if, by neglect or indolence in me, a matter of such importance to the publick welfare should be delayed till it was impracticable; that therefore I thought it a duty I owed to the publick and to myself, to lay before them the plan for extending the Company's trade; that however I was not determined whether to do it before a Court of Proprietors, or to the Publick in general; and in this should in good measure be guided by his sentiments: I observed, that I had no connexion with any party, and was only induced to do this, as I found nothing was likely to be done, and as I

thought a publick communication of the plan I had proposed was therefore incumbent on me.

He said, "I might be of no party; but people would judge from appearances: that I might do what I thought proper, as he had before told me; that as for a general court, he should behave in it like a man, and worthy of himself; that he had no motive for being a Director but to discharge his duty to the publick; and that he did not care whether he was chosen again or not. That men could never want a reason for what they did; and that he had no doubt the Court of Directors, when called upon, would give a reason to the General Court for their conduct: that if the Proprietors did not put a confidence in them, there was nothing

thing to be done but to dismiss them ; and that he should tell them so."

I replied that I wished to do what I thought my duty in the manner most agreeable ; that I did not pretend to know what motives induced men to be Directors, or Proprietors to chuse them, and did not presume to decide what were the duties of either, but should confine myself entirely to what I thought my own.

He observed, " that for his own part he saw this matter in a very different light from others ; that it was a very serious affair, and required much more consideration than some people thought ; that it appeared to him a matter of great expence and extent ; and he did not know how far the Company ought to launch out before they had settled with Government."

He

He concluded, " that he could only say that I would do what I thought for my own interest, and agreeable to the advice of my friends."

I replied, that hitherto I had always been determined by what I myself thought was right; that I should continue the same conduct, and pursue what appeared to be my duty.

Two days after I gave in the following Memorial :

To

To the Honourable the Court of Directors for affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies.

The Memorial of ALEXANDER DAL-
RYMPLE,

S H E W E T H,

THAT

In 1752 I went out a writer in the Company's service to Fort St. George.

In May, 1757, I was appointed Sub-secretary.

In the beginning of 1759, immediately after the siege of Madras, Mr. du Pré offered to relinquish to me the office of Secretary.

To fit me for this office, which I was to expect in the common course of succession, I had carefully perused

rused the Company's records. In them I found that the Company were in ancient times very solicitous to regain the trade to the Eastern Islands, of which this nation had been deprived by the intrigues of the Dutch and the pusillanimity of our own Court. On considering the subject attentively, I was convinced that this trade might not only be regained, but extended much beyond what it ever was. I have some papers on this matter so early in date as 1757, tho' the idea of prosecuting it in person, did not occur to me till the siege of Madras, during which I obtained Mr. Pigot's promise^c to be thus employed, he being fully convinced

^c " Mr. Pigot's *promise* : " A Director observed on this, " that *it* was my own *choice* to go to the eastward : that he was sensible I had been at a *good deal* of trouble, tho' it was a question whether the

vinced of the great importance of the object in view: in consequence hereof, I determined to relinquish that ease and honourable independency^d offered to me by Mr. Du Pré's resignation, and to undertake the hazardous, but publick-spirited enterprize, which had a distant prospect of great national benefit, and personal reputation.

It is now above nine years since I was sent to sea from Fort St. George, to endeavour an establishment for the Company, of an extensive com-

pany had reaped any advantages; but to be sure I had a right to *ask* to be restored to Madraſs, tho' he could not tell what would be the Gentlemen's determination." It would seem a publick-spirited choice is, in the opinion of this Director, either a folly or a fault; and that so far from being a recommendation, it is considered as an imputation against a man.

^d The Secretaryship used to be reckoned 1200 pagodas, or 500 *l.* per annum.

mercial

mercial empire in the East-Indies. Altho' I have met with many difficulties and obstructions, which the sanguine expectations of a young man did not bring into his account, I have never abated in my pursuit of this *great object*.

Self-applause is a very delicate topic ; but I may be allowed to quote the sentiments of the Company, and of their Government abroad, to shew that I have some claim to the Company's attention for what is passed.

Letter from Fort St. George to the Company, dated 17th April, 1762, per Ship Warren.

Par. 25. “ Mr. Dalrymple is a man of capacity, integrity, and unwearied application ; qualities which we hope and believe are sufficient to
 2 entitle

entitle any man to your protection and favour."

Letter from the Company to Fort St. George, 9th March, 1763, per Ship Lord Clive.

Par. 49. " Your intention of
 " sending an assistant with Mr. Dal-
 " rymple, was well judged, and we
 " doubt not but you have pitched
 " upon a capable person *; as we
 " apprehend, in dealing with those
 " people, the utmost caution, pru-
 " dence, and discretion, is necessary.
 " As to Mr. Dalrymple, we are hi-
 " therto sensible of his merit and
 " capacity, and that he will deserve
 " our favour and protection by his
 " future conduct."

* This assistant was Mr. Kelfall, now in Council at Bengal.

When

When I went in the Company's Ship London to Sooloo, the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, in my instructions, dated 7th June, 1762, say,

“ We do not stipulate any commission to you, for your care and trouble in this voyage, being persuaded that your good and faithful services will meet with a more ample reward from our masters, than we think ourselves authorized to promise you: we shall not fail to give them a just information of your proceedings, and recommend to you a full confidence in their generous consideration of your zeal, as the surest way to obtain their favour.”

On my return to Fort St. George, in the London, it appeared as well to myself as to my friends, that nothing material could be done in this affair,

affair, without the particular directions of the Company ; and as it seemed necessary for me in person to represent to the Company what occurred on this subject, I wrote a letter requesting permission to go to England for this purpose, but the Governor thinking this might be made an ill use of, by opening a door to other applications, desired me to request leave to resign only in the common form, as the reason I had for going to England, must be so obvious, that no difficulty could be made of letting me return to Madrafs, if the Company should not adopt the plan for the extension of their commerce to the eastward ; accordingly I resigned the
1763.

After this, the Governor and Council, having determined to send
E the

the Neptune to Sooloo, desired me to go thither in that ship, as my return to England from China would be little later than from Madras. I accordingly embarked on the Neptune the 10th of July, 1763, and had their permission to come home from China; but on my arrival at Manila, I found the old Sultan of Sooloo well inclined to make such a partition of his dominions, as I thought would be greatly for the interest of the Company, by giving the government of the northern part of Borneo and Palawan to his son Saraphodin: I thereupon determined to forego my intention of proceeding to England, and to return to Sooloo, which I accordingly did in April 1764. Difficulties arising in the mode of *partition*, I obtained a *cession* to the Company of the northern
part

part of Borneo and the islands adjoining ; though it was the intention of the Sultan that the government should be vested in Saraphodin.

Mr. Pigot returning to England in the end of 1763, and his successor not sending a ship to Sooloo the ensuing season, as I had been positively assured would be done, I proceeded to China in the London, where I found a private letter, inclosing me the following extract of the Company's letter to Fort St. George, dated May 13, 1763, per ship Pitt.

Par. 18. " We now direct, if
 " you find a residence at Sooloo is
 " feasible, that Mr. Dalrymple be
 " appointed our Resident there, if
 " he *chuses* it. . . . Although there
 " may not be an immediate prospect
 " of any considerable profits by trade,
 " yet, by a residence there, oppor-

E 2

" tunities

“ tunities may be had of exploring
 “ those parts, and striking out some
 “ advantages very beneficial to the
 “ Company ; and from what we
 “ have observed of Mr. Dalrymple’s
 “ conduct in this affair, we make
 “ no doubt of his acquitting himself
 “ in the said station fully to our
 “ satisfaction.”^f

The ship which brought these orders from the Company arrived at Madras in January : had this ship been dispatched to me at Sooloo, I

^f These very sensible orders were given immediately after Mr. Sullivan gained the ascendancy in the direction. In justice to him it must be observed, that if this important acquisition is lost, either by past or future delays, no reproach can be laid on *him*, as the instructions above recited are compleatly what a *wise* administration must have sent, from what was *then* known. I can scarcely say I have a personal acquaintance with Mr. Sullivan, having been in his company but *once*.

should

should have given up all thoughts of returning to England ; and am persuaded would have collected the greater part of the Sooloo debt. As the administration at Madrafs did not send a ship to Sooloo, but dispatched the Pitt to Manila, I thought the sentiments of the Company, instead of preventing, were sufficient to enforce my return to England, notwithstanding I was desired, by the Gentlemen at Madrafs, to continue, at the same time that they sent me no plan of operation, and did not even communicate to me the Company's orders.

I left Canton the latter end of January 1765, and arrived in England the 10th of July.

It would, perhaps, appear indecent in me to enter into a recital of the many fatigues and dangers attending

a five years course of navigation through seas unknown, and amongst people with whom we had no intercourse. The Company, from the foregoing citations, appear to have had a favourable sense of my endeavours; and, as I think I may presume to have some claim to their attention, I beg leave to refer to their generous consideration to determine whether I deserve any, and what reward for my past labours.

Should the Company determine not to pursue their interest in the eastern islands at present, or should they not assent to such conditions as I may think adequate to the very arduous task of forming a new settlement, I beg I may return to the Madras establishment, with a recommendation to be restored to the office of Secretary, which I relinquished
above

above nine years ago, to undertake the very hazardous and fatiguing enterprize which has been the object of my pursuit for so many years.

And your Memorialist, &c.

London,
Aug. 26, 1768.

A. DALRYMPLE.

I have not received any reply to this memorial: *perhaps* the Court of Directors may be considering *what reward* to give me; *perhaps* the important business of elections may engage their attention too much to allow them to think of any thing else.

Some days after delivering in this memorial, I heard it said in company, that the Directors alledged that the expedition was dropped because it was impossible to comply with the terms I demanded; upon this I wrote a letter to the Court of Directors, which follows:

E 4

To

*To the Honourable the Court of
Directors, &c.*

GENTLEMEN,

IT was a matter of much astonishment to me to hear it asserted in conversation, that some of the Directors had said, “ the expedition “ from hence to the eastward was “ dropped, because it was impossible “ to comply with the terms I had “ demanded : ” it therefore behoves me to explain, that I never *demanded* any terms ; nor indeed laid any before the Court : the paper I communicated to some of the Directors declared, that I mentioned what I *wished*, as the mode most agreeable to me might not occur to them ; but left the discussion to the Company.

These conditions, if they must be called so, were of two kinds ; relative

tive to the publick equipment, and to what I thought a person, who had nine years ago given up a handsome competency in the Company's service, to undertake a very fatiguing and hazardous enterprize for the advantage of the Company and of the Publick, might expect on being again engaged in this pursuit.

I had not so high an opinion of my own consequence as to think, a matter of this importance to the Kingdom and to the Company, depended *upon me*: but if this is the case, I must take leave to say, that no *pecuniary* considerations shall prevent me from executing it.

I have the honour to be,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obed^t. humble servant,

London,
Sept. 5, 1768.

A. DALRYMPLE.

I waited on the Chairman and Deputy, to shew them this letter before I delivered it in : the Chairman told me “ the expedition was not dropt, but the confideration postponed ; that when the Lionses’s dispatches were settled, something would be determined : that his objection was the great expence, as by his estimate the Company would be 50,000l. out of pocket before they could reap a farthing.”

I replied, that this estimate appeared to me very astonishing, and that I could not conceive how the equipment could possibly cost half that sum.

He answered, “ There was no saying what it would cost ; that they must not starve the cause, and that the expence was endless.”

I replied

I replied, that I thought it was very easy to come nearly to a certainty what the expedition would cost; that the ship might easily be estimated*; that the amount of pay and provisions for the number of men proposed were articles easily rated; and that these comprehended all the material disbursements: that fortifications, indeed, ran up to an enormous expence; but these were not proposed 'till the Company could, by experience, determine how far there was a probability of effecting the purposes of the expedition: that if they had not this knowledge in three years, they never could: if they

* The Latham, just then arrived from China, was offered with all her stores for 2000 guineas. This ship was in very good condition, having performed her voyage without making any water, and might have been compleatly fitted for the service required for 500 l. more.

then

then saw no probability of success, it was time to withdraw, as it would be absurd to put the Company to any farther expence.

He observed, " That if I thought this letter would preserve any *right*, it was proper to give it in; that it would be very unbecoming in him to oppose any letter intended to be laid before the Court of Directors: that he did not think what men said over a bottle signified any thing." He added, " that there had been no Committee of Correspondence, as the Gentlemen had been employed in business of more importance."

The Deputy also told me, " that the undertaking was not dropt, even as the resolution now stands: that a kind of *middle* measure was adopted, neither giving it up, nor executing it as first proposed.

“ That some Gentlemen had opposed the undertaking totally ; and therefore, when difficulties arose, they had come to this middle resolution, whereby the Court kept a power of resuming the subject, whereas otherwise it would have been quashed at once. That as the resolution now stood, orders would go to Madrafs to take the most effectual measures to carry the expedition into execution ; and therefore the Gentlemen there would become *responsible*.”

I replied, that I thought the undertaking should either be pursued effectually, or not at all ; that if, on a full examination, the motives should not appear sufficient to induce the Company to make the experiment, it ought to be dropt at once : that orders to Madrafs were
 absurd ;

absurd ; for it was not in the power of the Gentlemen at Madras to carry it into execution, as they even had no vessels on that establishment.

He replied, " they must send to Bombay then : " and took notice, that " when the dispatches of the Lioness were thought of, the subject would be re-considered. "

He further observed, that " the latter part of the letter was very handsome. "

I had added, " that if my wishes " appear unreasonable, I shall undertake the service on such terms " as a General Court of Proprietors " may think adequate : " but left out this paragraph by the advice of some of my friends, since that reference might be made at any time, though even a hint of it to the Court of Directors.

Directors would instantly alarm their jealousy.

In every country where there is a system of civil government, reference from the decision or opinion of one tribunal to another is an established custom: infallibility is not supposed to exist in any court or body of men, and the appeal carried from the inferior to the superior tribunal only ends at last because there must be somewhere a decisive court: indeed, in a free country, there is still an appeal to the publick, which may be considered as a *petition of rights*. An appeal to the House of Lords from the High-Court of Chancery is not thought by the Chancellor of England a personal imputation on the equity of his judgments or the wisdom of his decrees: Such a reference can never displease a wise
 2 man,

man, because it is only exerting a natural and constitutional right inherent in every individual.

But if even a *wish* of reference to the opinion of a General Court of Proprietors, is mentioned to an India Director, he stands aghast! and as soon as he gets utterance tells you that such a measure is hostile to the Direction, and subversive of all good government. The Company's charter however has made the Court of Proprietors the Supreme Court of *reference*, and indeed of regulation.

“What! propose Conditions to the opinion of a General Court? such a thing was never heard of.”—It is in vain to say Lord Clive had his jaghire confirmed by a General Court before he returned to India.—You will be told, “This is not a parallel case.” Not parallel indeed; for there is perhaps

haps but *one* example of a man in the Company's service having for so many years trusted to their generosity*.

“What! with an annuity? impossible.” It is in vain to say an annuity was granted to a Jew, for discovering a blunder in a treaty.— You will be told this is not parallel: —“he was never in the Company's service, and that the Court of Directors gave it *first*, and acquainted the General Court *after* it was done; besides his case was recommended by the ministry.— No question *one* word from a minister deserves more attention than many years services repeatedly ac-

* Vide the President and Council's instructions to Mr. Dalrymple, ut supra, p. 48. their Letter to the Court of Directors, p. 46, and the Letters from the Court of Directors, p. 47 and 51.

knownedged, though unrewarded, by the Court of Directors.

Not only an implicit acquiescence is required to the sentiments of the Court of Directors, but even to their inactivity. You will be told, “But—
“ *finer* of *more* importance engages
“ their attention,” too much to admit the consideration of so *trifling* an affair as extending the commerce of this Country and of the Company. One year this *important* business is a dispute between a Ship’s-husband and the Owners, who has the right of nominating a Captain: another year it is a debate whether Eight New Ships shall be admitted, and a West-India ship freighted out to India. These matters may perhaps appear of more importance to a Director than to the Company.

There

There is a pedantry inseparable from the human mind; every man thinks the objects of his attention and pursuit of the utmost consequence; it is universal in all ranks and professions: the only difference arises from the importance of the object. Of this the impartial Publick only can be the judge; and the question, "Whether the object of attention be *great* or *trifling*?" determines the character of the *person*." Perhaps it may appear that my idea of the consequence to be expected from an establishment to the Eastward is *merely* because it has been long an object of my *pursuit*. I mean to put it in the power of the Publick to decide: and having done this duty, I shall stand acquitted in my own mind, even should the Publick think this Plan the Fan-

tom of Imagination, since I am conscious of having pursued what I *thought* the Publick Interest.

Good order requires a decent respect and submission to administration; but they must be blind to the examples in history, and deaf to the dictates of common-sense, who think the Publick Welfare depends on an implicit confidence in the ability and virtue of any Rulers whatever: the greatest and wisest *minds* will often feel a languor and indolence, which require a stimulation of *danger* or *necessity* to drive them into *action*. It would be equally false and servile to assert, that the wisest Administration is in *every* circumstance better informed than *some* Individual.

It would be paying Mr. Gregory or Mr. Fitzhugh no compliment to say,

say, that *even* a person who has made the General Commerce of India his study, is less conversant than the latter in the trade of China, or than the former in the affairs of Bengal; in like manner, without imputation of vanity, I may presume many years reflexion and experience has bestowed on me a more intimate knowledge of the Eastern parts of India than any other man possesses: and having considered every view of, and every difficulty attending, an Establishment, it will not be easy to persuade me, that the debate of an hour in a Committee can bestow on twenty-four men, even as wise as the great Bacon, the ability of digesting a plan for such a purpose, and therefore I must be convinced that the hour *will* come, when this labour shall be thought useful.

It is enough if men, entrusted with the administration, have an unwearied application, and general knowledge, are inclined to promote the Publick Welfare, and to encourage every person whom they may find thus disposed ; they must, however, be open to information, and not, like Dr. Laſt, quite ſatisfied that they know every thing.

Only Quacks and Jobbers will be afraid of an inquisition into their conduct and opinions. Every person who knows himſelf fit to conduct any branch of Publick Affairs cannot be unwilling to have *his* examined. If an able and honeſt man, he will be glad to have his errors corrected, and will have confidence enough in his own ability and virtue to truſt that his general character will ſtand the *teſt*. If *it does not*,
what

what motive can the Publick have for entrusting him?

A new settlement is not to be made by common-place maxims, or an abstract of another man's plan; every person entrusted with such a charge must have a plan of his own. That of another will be ever too *little* or too *much* for him. However, much previous knowledge is requisite to enable any man to form such a plan.

Middle measures may be pronounced to be always wrong: if a matter does not, on a full examination, deserve to be pursued, it ought certainly to be relinquished. Without the *utmost* vigour, no new undertaking will ever be carried into execution; yet how can this vigour be expected when it is begun with lukewarmness? Besides, it is like Egyp-

tian task-masters, demanding bricks without straw: every thing requisite to ensure success is omitted, and yet success is expected!

Previous to a new undertaking, a plan of the objects should be formed; every objection should then be made in writing: desultory conversations of publick bodies are generally ridiculous; a man of good sense may not understand astronomy, but he would appear very absurd if he talked about it; even his questions * would seem ridiculous to an astronomer: indeed no *questions* can be so, but the *decisions* of the igno-

* Amongst other questions, when I attended the Committee, it was asked, "What the Emperor of China would think of an establishment at Balam-bangan?" And a grave Director asked me afterwards, "If there *were* any *women* to be got there?" Another Director very properly replied, "What! women on an uninhabited island?"

rant ever must. The proper person to answer objections is the person who lays down the plan.

It is not at all to the purpose to alledge, in behalf of *middle* measures, that some of the Direction were altogether against the plan; and that adopting a kind of *mean* keeps it in the power of the Court of Directors to take it up hereafter. They who think the whole is improper, betray their trust in *consenting* to such *middle* measures; every expence attending which, must, in their opinion, be money thrown away: and if these do not consent, every impartial person must see, “to *come* to a *bad* resolution *now*, that a *good* one may “be taken *hereafter*,” is the greatest of all absurdities. However, as this is represented to be the state of the Direction, it certainly must appear reasonable

reasonable to appeal to the sentiments of a General Court, in behalf of those men, who *wish* to come to a *good* resolution; of those who condemn every new establishment as chimerical; or in behalf of that part of the Direction who may silently acquiesce to what they cannot prevent.

However solicitous I was for the Court of Directors to come to a determination, I did not wish even to perplex them: but no further intimation being made to me directly, though I found different pretences were made to others for delaying their resolution, I thought it became absolutely necessary for the publick interest, either to have the expedition speedily undertaken, or to let the Publick know what might be done, especially as the last pretence was, that “ they waited for the arrival

rival of the Madrafs ship," to which the expedition had not the least relation. I could not but consider this as one of the *official* delays which are always ready as an excuse for putting off what is not meant to be performed.

On a former occasion it was suspected Buckingham betrayed the Company's rights to the Dutch. Perhaps some men may think there are modern ministers who have not more virtue or less influence on the Company's affairs than Buckingham. But thank heaven we have *not* a Stuart on the throne.

On the 5th of October, I wrote the following letter.

To

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

NOTwithstanding the private intimations of my intentions have been considered as *threats* *, I rather chuse again to expose myself to such ill-grounded imputations than to run the least hazard of indiscreetly doing any thing in the smallest degree prejudicial to the interest of the Company. I am therefore to inform you that I intend to publish my plan for extending the commerce of this Kingdom and of the Company in the East-Indies: should any objections against such a publication occur to you, it will be a favour to communicate them.

* I had heard a report that the Chairman represented the conversation p. 37. in this light.

To

To judge for himself, and to act according to his own judgment, are privileges which I think no man ought to give up : I do not mean therefore implicitly to be guided by *opinions*, whether they appear well or ill grounded, but maturely to consider *every* objection with candour, and then to determine on what may seem to me most conducive to the welfare of the Public and of the Company.

I have the honour to be,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

Soho-Square,
Oct. 5, 1768.

A. DALRYMPLE.

To prevent dilatory procrastinations,
too common in all Publick Bodies, I
declared

declared in my letter, that I was not to be determined merely by *opinions*. However, when I attended, at the desire of the Committee, on the 7th of October, instead of *specifying* their *objections*, the Chairman told me, "The Committee thought all publication was improper." He would not condescend to let me know on what *grounds* they thought so. On observing that "I wished to know the particular objections which occurred to them, as I thought general objections insufficient to ground a determination upon ;" I was only told their simple *opinion*, that "The Committee disapproved of all publication," which, after my previous declaration above-mentioned, could not answer any good purpose. The Chairman farther said, that "I was left to do what I thought proper."—

Mr. Jones added in a surly tone, "What you do shall be at your *peril*." I have heard it said Mr. Jones declares he did not mean any thing like a *threat*; as I never had any intercourse or conversation with him, but then, I cannot be an adequate judge of his intentions. The apology made for La Fontaine, *il est plus bête que malin*, may, for ought I know, be applicable to Mr. Jones; but if what he said did not mean an *insolent threat*, what did it mean? If I had spoken in such a manner to a shoe-black, it would, I think, have been treating him very *insolently*.

I repeated Mr. Jones's last word with great *warmth*, when the Chairman called to order.

I observed, that I always had, and always should pay a due respect to him, both as Chairman and in his own Person, as he never had behaved to me with incivility;

incivility ; but that I *must* think such an expression very *improper*. He replied, that he always meant to treat every body with respect, but that he could not be of opinion, that the expression was *quite improper* to a person who had favours to expect from the Company. I rejoined that I must still think it was *very improper*, and then withdrew, as I had been desired to do. As I was removing, Mr. Jones said, “ He thought it was very proper, and “ that he repeated it.”

A very amiable Member of the Committee, whose *good wishes* I shall ever think an *honour*, because I am confident they will never be bestowed, but where he thinks there is some desert, has since regretted that the warmth of my reply put a stop to any further conversation in the Committee, and hinted, that if this had not been the case,
I would

I would have found things in a good train: without presuming to judge what further conversation *could* have passed after the Chairman had told me “ I was left to do what I thought proper,” or to determine how far what *has* hapened, is sufficient reason for impeding or preventing the execution of a matter, so important to the welfare of this Country, and of the Company; I appeal to him, or to any other impartial person present, if I spoke to the *Chairman* with any unbecoming heat; with him I was not angry, because I did not think what he said, was meant as an *insult*. It is true, I did and do consider myself to have been as much in a *publick* character as any Member of the Committee, since I attended on a matter relative *solely* to the Company. Indeed it must be obvious no individual Member of a Committee has a right to

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more

more than to ask questions or urge objections, since all decisions or opinions, as the sentiments of the board, should come from the Chairman; I was therefore, perhaps, more in a *public* character than any one present, the Chairman excepted.

It has been intimated to me, the Committee congratulated themselves on getting rid of a person, from warmth of temper, so *unfit* for such a charge. Perhaps, blown up with ideas of self-importance, they may expect a degree of servility inconsistent with every noble feeling; but they may be assured a *little* mind will never accomplish the establishment at Balambangan, nor a *great* one tamely bear *even* a *suspicion* of insult. And, before they form a judgment of tempers, they will do well to consider *one* drop *only* makes the glass run over; so the mind, when long
I
teazed

teazed with follies, and vexed with flights, easily loses for a moment, that calmness which some men possess only from stupidity.

On the 11th of October, I wrote the following letter.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING on Friday attended the Committee of Correspondence at their desire, I understood from the Chairman, that the Committee were of opinion, "any Publication would be improper." I observed, I wished to know the particular objections which occurred to them, since I considered general objections as insufficient to ground a determination upon: he said, "The Committee disapproved of all Pub-
G 2 "lication,

“lication, and therefore I was left to
 “do what I thought proper.” If I
 am under any mistake on this head, I
 shall be glad to be set right.

Mr. Jones then very angrily said,
 “What I did should be at my *peril*.”
 I answered with that warmth and scorn
 which every manly spirit must feel on
 receiving an insult : I did not mean
 any disrespect to the *Committee*, and
 persuade myself I said nothing which
 can be construed as such : no one has
 a greater respect for public bodies ; but
 it is the respect of a *man*, not of a
slave ; and I neither have, nor *wish*
 to have, a temper *tamely* to be *bullied*.

I was desired then to withdraw : I
 wish Mr. Jones would explain what he
 meant by *peril*. Can the sentiments
 of any Director imply a threat of ven-
 geance against a person, who, even in
 the matter in question, shewed his
 attach-

attachment to the *Company*, and attention to *their* interest, *merely* because he has not an implicit confidence in the *infallible* wisdom and virtue of any set of men?

I have broke no covenants, nor have I ever defrauded the *Company*, but I have exposed myself to many fatigues and dangers in their behalf, and in every respect have served them faithfully and zealously, tho' *hitherto* without reward.

Could any Director mean, that if I presume to have an opinion of my *own*, I must expect *no* reward for my past labours, nor even be continued in the common line of the *Company's* service?

If *peril* had only been mentioned by Mr. Jones, his *general* character might make me *now* pass it over in *silent scorn*: but as the chairman de-

fended the word, and hinted something about expectations from the Company, I think it necessary to inform the Court, I am equally incapable of threatening others, or being myself deterred by threats: I laid it down as a maxim early in life, "to pursue the measures which I thought for the public interest:" This principle has supported my spirits through many *perils*, and this principle I will maintain at *all perils*.

"Whether I should publish my plan or *not*," was not the question referred to consideration, but "why it should *not* be published:" — this I am still solicitous to know, as it requires something *more* than the *threat* of a director to *alienate me* from the Company.

I shall ever entertain the utmost respect for the Court of Directors, but
must

must consider not only them, but every *public officer*, whether by election or inheritance, as *in trust* for the community. I intimated my intentions of publication, that in case any objections had occurred to the Court, which threaten danger to the Company, I might, by the communication of these objections, be prevented doing any thing prejudicial to their interest. If any objections do occur, I shall still be glad to know them, and beg they may be communicated in writing.

I am convinced, the prosecution of the plan for extending the commerce to the eastward, would be much for the interest of the Company, and can foresee the fatal consequences of delay. The motive on which I act is, that when this plan is *published*, no *party*

in a Court of Directors can oppose its *immediate* execution. And although *I may* be made a *sacrifice* to their resentment, the Public *must* be *served*. I shall therefore scarcely think any thing a sufficient objection to the publication but what gives a full conviction that effectual measures will speedily be taken to carry the plan into execution.

I have one favour to beg; it is, that every circumstance of misconduct or misbehaviour which can be alledged against me since I entered into the Company's service in 1752 may be given me in writing, that I may have an opportunity of vindicating myself from every insinuation of Malevolence. This charge will either make me know myself, or let the world know me; and if I *must* be an *outcast*, it seems but

a reasonable passport after so many years service.—

I have the honour to be,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

Soho-Square.
Oct. 11, 1768.

A. DALRYMPLE,

I have had no reply to this letter; but on the 13th received the following.

“ S I R,

“ The Court of Directors of the
“ East-India Company have ordered
“ me to call upon you to deliver in
“ to them all grants made to the
“ Company, and papers relating to
“ their affairs that are in your custo-
“ dy, or that have come into your
“ hands in consequence of your em-
“ ploy

“ ploy in the Company’s service dur-
 “ ing the time of your being engaged
 “ therein. I am,

“ SIR,

“ Your most obedient

“ humble servant,

“ East-India house,

“ Oct. 12, 1768.

“ P. MICHELL, Secr^y.

“ Alexander Dalrymple, *Esq*.”

“ In reply, “ I begged to have a *list*
 “ specifying what papers the Court
 “ desired from me.”

“ On the 20th I received the follow-
 ing letter.

SIR,

I have laid your letter dated the 13th
 instant before the Court of Directors
 of

of the East India Company, and am
commanded, in return, to acquaint
you, that they expect you will deliver
to them, all books, maps and papers,
and copies of books, maps and papers,
that have come into your possession, in
virtue of your having been in the ser-
vice of the Company, and of the free
access you have had to the Company's
maps, books and papers in this house;
and I am also directed to desire you
will give me a speedy answer, for the
information of the Court.

I am,

S I R,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

East India house,
Oct. 20. 1768.

P. MICHELL, Secr^y.

Next

Next day, I received another letter, inclosing a list of some papers which the Court of Directors desired me to deliver.

On the 24th, in a letter to the Secretary, I replied, "that as what I do is at *my peril*, it behoves me to do nothing however *trivial* without deliberation, I should otherwise have answered the first immediately: That, from an expression in it, *the free access I have had to the Company's maps, books, and papers, in the India-house*; it appears to me the Court of Directors lie under a great mistake."

"It is true, in March 1766 I did apply for *permission, to examine the antient records of the Company, relative to the eastern parts of India*; as *I was persuaded the experience I have had in that quarter of the world would enable me to trace out many valuable*
circum-

circumstances, which would be of very great consequence to the Company, should they hereafter think proper to pursue their interests there." But although I did apply for permission, I never did obtain it.

"That, at the same time, I asked leave to copy the charts in the Company's possession, which was allowed: the reason I gave for this application, was, that I intended some time or other to reduce those I had collected to a general scale. That the *publick* intention, for which I asked and obtained these charts, is not yet fulfilled; however, if the Court insist on it, they shall have them back.

"The only *free access* I have had to the records in the India house, has been to the sea journals; this no mate of an India Man is refused, nor to have extracts on paying for them: I
have

have had many extracts made at a considerable expence; these extracts in my hands may be of publick utility. Without entering into an enquiry what right I may have to keep them, I am willing to return them, if the Court desire it, on being paid what they have cost me—as a *few* guineas may henceforth be to me a matter of consideration.

“ That it may be said, every paper in my possession has come into my hands, *in virtue of my being in the Company's service*; for if I had not gone to India, India probably would never have been to me a subject of enquiry. This shews how very necessary it was for the Court to explain themselves. I shall consider the *list* transmitted me as a commentary on their general expectation.

I also acquainted him that I had the cession, and some treaties, which I was
ready

ready to deliver to *the Court of Directors*, whenever they think proper.

I observed, that, "It seems very unreasonable to desire my instructions, as these are the vouchers for my conduct; that, many of the other papers in the list, I never saw."

I concluded, that, "having now replied to his letters, I begged he would be kind enough in my behalf, to solicit the Court, to let me know their resolution, on the memorial I gave in some time since."

On the 25th, I received another letter from the Secretary, by order of the Court of Directors, desiring me "to deliver to a Court to be held on the 26th, the treaties and cession, mentioned in my letter of the 24th;" but taking no further notice of their *general demands*.

On

On the 26th of October, I delivered into the Court of Directors the papers desired of me, and when I had done this, I begged the favour to know the Court's resolution on my memorial. The Chairman said, "the Court had not come to any resolution; that the Committee had not gone through the papers about that business." I replied, that I did not presume to judge for the Court, but did conceive the resolution on the memorial, had no relation to any other paper, and that I much wished to know their resolution.—He said, "no resolution was taken; that *he did not give any reasons*, "he found it was *dangerous giving reasons*; that the consideration was "referred to the proper Committee." I then paid my compliments and retired.

I have now given a very full and very fair recital of what has passed:

on

to say I never have done wrong, would be supposing myself more than man; but I am not conscious of having, either from pride or obstinacy, persisted in an error after I was convinced of it. — I consider the charge of such an establishment to be a most important *trust*. I therefore wish the world to know me just as I am; and that they may do so, I have neither dissembled, nor concealed any thing. If I am thought unfit for such a trust, either from warmth of temper, independency of spirit, want of ability, or any other reason; far be it from me to wish the public service sacrificed on my account; but I think I may claim to have a fair hearing in my own defence. If the Company can find a properer person for this charge than he who *first* proposed and who has been engaged above nine years in the

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prose-

prosecution of this object, who pointed out, what, I will be bold to assert, is the most convenient place for a commercial capital, and who obtained a cession of it, I promise to afford him all the information in my power: but I must appeal to the *justice* of the Company, whether my past services do not merit their attention, as *notwithstanding my warmth of temper*, it was me who opened the intercourse, and obtained many important grants for the Company in a quarter of the world whereto perhaps no other had extended his ideas.

The nature of the subject must be my excuse for speaking so much of myself; though the example of the greatest men stands a vindication of egotism in one who thinks himself slighted.

I have

I have published this narrative previous to the publication of the plan ; that the Company or the Public may have an opportunity of making their objections, if any occur, against that publication : as I am not actuated by a spirit of resentment but public duty, I shall very readily stop the future publication, if good reason is given me why it should be stopped : but I do not think a supercilious opinion of any man, or body of men, that *good reason* : I require arguments, not assertions ; and they who will not condescend to a fair discussion of the former, may save themselves the trouble of the last, and keep their opinions to themselves.

My want of confidence in the present Directors, does not *merely* proceed from their having *trifled* with me so many months, but from a general review of their conduct : I have at pre-

sent entirely confined myself to what has passed on this particular subject; but if the narrative here laid before the Public should be thought to contain no sufficient reason for my want of confidence, I may, perhaps, be induced to give my reasons at large, by a general review of measures pursued by the present Court of Directors: I am far from insinuating a charge against every person; public bodies are generally governed by a few leaders; and these again often by a noisy bully or fawning sycophant behind the curtain. I know *some* very sensible and worthy men in the Direction, and have heard there are others whom I do not know. I have indeed no pleasure in personal imputations, though I am far from meaning to offer incense at every unworthy shrine.

If

If the present Court of Directors are pleased to reject me, not from any *unfitness*, but from an opinion that they are not empowered to satisfy my wishes, the Proprietors are certainly the proper judges to decide what my past and future services deserve: if I am to be continued in the common line, I must beg leave to remind them, that above nine years ago I relinquished a very honourable employment in the Company's service, reckoned worth 500 l. *per annum*, and to inform them, that, although I have never been charged with extravagance, I am now *poorer*, than when I first entered into the Company's service, in 1752. I think in *justice*, I have, therefore, a claim to the generous consideration of the Company, whether my future services *are*, or are *not* accepted.

H 3

“ That

“ That I am to be totally re-
 “ jected by the Company,” is an idea
 too *gloomy* to be indulged ! Although
 private pique and passions might in-
 cline some of the Directors to a spirit
 of persecution ; I cannot believe a ma-
 jority, even of them, would coolly join
 in such a measure : however, I throw
 myself on the *Public*, and am pre-
 pared to receive *their* decision, with
 heart-felt gratitude, or manly resig-
 nation, and am persuaded, whatever
 I may make the object of my pursuit,
 will not be attended with more dangers
 and fatigues, than what I have under-
 gone in their service. To *be* what a
 hundred others *are*, is to *me* no object
 of ambition, nor a motive to forego
 one satisfaction of society ; and I would
 rather be a Rawleigh on the scaffold,
 or a Columbus in chains, than the
richest

richest man in this Kingdom, dignified with *unmerited* honours.

London, Oct. 20,
1768.

P O S T S C R I P T.

To act with the utmost deliberation at the same time that I pursued stedfastly the object I had in view, I printed a few copies of this tract, which I communicated to some particular friends, intending to profit by their sentiments and admonition, before I made a publick appeal: I also shewed it to the Secretary at the India-House, by whom it was communicated to some of the Directors.

I have heard it is insinuated as a reproach, "that I have exposed the secrets of *confidential* conversations." I expressly deny the *charge*; I have re-

peated no conversations which passed in the familiarities of society: every thing I have related passed in *conferences*, expressly on the subject, with Directors, with whom I was not familiar, and at times when nothing else was talked of. Perhaps the letter, p. 28. may be thought an exception, but it is entirely relative to the sentiments of the Committee, and contains nothing personal to the Director, from which it was received: I communicated to him my intention of publishing it, as necessary to explain what had passed, at the same time desiring to know if there was any circumstance he wished to have omitted: the necessity of publishing it must be obvious, as this was the only channel by which the sentiments of the Committee were communicated to me.

The note in p. 72, Mr. Gregory's opinion, p. 13, and the Secretary's information,

formation, p. 31, are almost the whole of what passed *officially*, if conversations with particular Directors, on publick business, are not to be considered as such. If this is admitted, I never *knew* the Company *intended* making an establishment; and all that has passed must be a *dream*, for I never had any publick intimation of such an intention, and therefore could never have differed about terms of any kind.

Some of the dispassionate Directors having expressed a wish, that a mutual friend might interfere and accommodate all differences, I delayed, for above a month, the publication of my narrative: But this mutual friend, on the 1st instant, informed me, some of the leading Directors had declared to him, that, “they can have no thoughts
“ of the expedition at *present*, and
“ that although they meant I should
“ return

“ return to India, in the Company’s
 “ service, they would consider my
 “ publishing any thing as a defiance,
 “ and consult the Attorney-General
 “ what grounds there was for a pro-
 “ secution against me.” As there was
 no hope left of an accommodation,
 without sacrificing to my *own private*
interest, what appears to me to be the
 interest of the Publick, there no longer
 subsisted a motive for delaying the pub-
 lication of this narrative, which indeed
 is little more than a full exposition of
 the reasons for publishing my plan.

However, before I published the
 narrative, I candidly communicated it
 to the Chairman and Deputy, observ-
 ing, that as my intentions were *to tell*
the truth, the whole truth, and nothing
but the truth, I begged they would
 point out any mistakes they might per-
 ceive, or any alteration they could wish
 consistent

consistent with those intentions, and further requested that they would be kind enough to communicate it, for the same purposes, to such other persons, as they might think any way interested.

The Chairman replied, " that he
 " could have no objection to the pub-
 " lication, of whatever Mr. Dalrymple
 " may think necessary to send into the
 " world for his own justification; but
 " so far as concerns the East-India
 " Company, he cannot help concur-
 " ring with the sentiments of the Com-
 " mittee of Correspondence, that all
 " publications, tending to expose the
 " *secrets* of the Company, are extreme-
 " ly injurious to its interest, and are
 " likely to reflect very little *honour* or
 " *benefit* on the Author."

The Deputy-chairman sent me a reply, in which he said, " He can
 " have no objections of a *private* na-

“ ture against publishing this Book,
 “ or any other relating to Balam-
 “ bangan; but that he thinks on *pub-*
 “ *lick* grounds these Publications to
 “ be highly unwarrantable; and that
 “ they will be *prejudicial* to the
 “ Company, and *injurious* to the Au-
 “ thor.”

As neither the Chairman nor Deputy specify the particular reasons why they think any Publication will be prejudicial to the Company, they cannot surely be so unreasonable as to expect I can pay implicit deference to *their opinion* against my *own*. Indeed the former begs the question, by supposing *all Publications tend to expose the secrets of the Company*. This position I can never assent to in *the general*, and have repeatedly called upon the Court of Directors to explain what *particulars* of my Publication

cation they think can be prejudicial to the Company.

As to the *injury* to which these Publications may expose the Author, I can only say that, although no person has a greater attachment to his Country and to the Company, than myself; it is the attachment of a *man* who means to *do right*, but to judge for himself; not of a *slave*, blindly to obey the will of others; and that where I think my *rights*, as a *man*, or my *duty* as a *member of the community*, are concerned; neither the hopes of *favour*, nor the fear of *prosecution*, shall influence me :

*For thee, fair virtue, welcome all that's past;
For thee, fair virtue, welcome even the last.*

A D.



ADVERTISEMENT.

AS a report has been spread about, that I am the Author of a Letter lately published on the subject of the Treaty concluded with Nizam Ally-Kawn; I take this opportunity of publicly declaring, that I am not, either in whole or in part, the Author of that Letter: nor do I know who is the Author, except from reports, which may be as ill-founded as those which ascribed it to me.

I also take this occasion to acquaint the Publick, that I mean to put the *Historical Collection of Voyages in the South Seas* to the Press in a few days; and intend to publish each Voyage as it is finished, if this mode is acceptable to the Publick. The Voyages of that great Hero *Hernando Magallanes* will be published some time in January.

ADVERTISEMENT

A report has been published, that
I am the Author of a Treatise lately
published on the subject of the Treaty con-
cluded with William Pitt. I take this
opportunity of stating, that I
cannot, either directly or indirectly, be the Au-
thor of that Treatise, which is
the subject of the present
advertisement.



I have also the pleasure to announce the
publication of a new edition of the
Treatise on the subject of the Treaty
concluded with William Pitt, and which is
now in the hands of the printer, and
will be ready in a few days. The
Treatise is published by the
Author, and is sold by the
Booksellers, and is also
sold by the Author.



